1: Karsten--158-159 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 231, 278 (1928-29)

"The Canelos Indians told me that domestic fowls and swine are immune to their arrow-poison. This statement has been confirmed by a physiological examination of the poison, although the immunity is [159] only relative. (1) The same is probably true of the arrow-poison of the Achuares."

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"1. See Santesson, Pfeilgiftstudien, p. 213."

"Of greater importance to the Jibaro Indians for hunting than all charms and traps are, however, their dogs, which, as pointed out before, are bred with extraordinary care. The 'feast of the dogs', Yawápani, is one of the five great feasts of the Jibaros, and takes place when the training of a young dog is completed and it is supposed to be able to track and hunt game. Just as the Jibaro, when he is about to marry, makes a special feast for his young wife to impart to her strength and ability for agriculture and other work incumbent upon a housewife, [170] so he makes a feast for his young dog when it is full-grown, in order to give it a keen nose for tracking game and strength and endurance for pursuing it.

When a Jibaro has bought a small dog which he proposes to breed for hunting, both he and his wife start to fast, submitting themselves to certain rules with regard to diet which are observed for a couple of years, or until the feast has taken place. The kind of food which the masters are not allowed to eat is of course still more strictly denied the little dog. Thus the Jibaro and his wife as well as the dog must not eat chicken, since otherwise the dog will get tape-worms which easily breed in the bowels of the chicken. Nor must they eat the stomach and intestines of any animal, lest the dog should grow small, weak and useless. They must also abstain from eating a kind of sweet potato cultivated by the Jibaros called kingi, the stalk of which has the form of a vine, for if they eat them the dog will get crooked legs like this vine. Nor must

they eat another root, somewhat like the manioc, called sángu, lest the dog should get the itch. As soon as the little dog has grown somewhat bigger and is able to eat substantial food, the liver of some animal, generally that of the hog, is given it to eat. The liver is soft enough for the tender teeth of the dog, and moreover, since the soul of an animals[sic] is believed to be present in its liver, the dog is supposed to become skilled in hunting the wild hog by eating that part of its body. The dog is not allowed to roam about at liberty in the forest, because it may be harmed by meeting some demoniac animal or some evil sorcerer, who may shoot his magic or bewitched arrows at it so as to make it fall ill and die. The master of the dog himself, during the rearing time, must take care not even to look at a jaguar or a smaller species of the feline family, a vulture, or a venomous snake, for these animals are possessed by evil spirits, the souls of witch-doctors, and if he sees them the dog will pine away and die.

When the dog is full-grown and supposed to be able to track and hunt game, the feast Yawápani takes place. When this feast is made on a large scale, it is almost as grand as the head-feast or the feast of the women. Even the ceremonial drinking of natéma formerly took place at the Yawápani, just as it still forms a ceremony at some of the great feasts. It is preceded by the usual preparations, the planting of manioc and plantain, the brewing of a large quantity of manioc-beer, the making of new clay

vessels, and so on. The feast proper lasts three days, and the ceremonies, as is the case at all feasts, are led by an old man or priest, called whuéa. [171]

Three days previous to the feast proper a conjuration takes place consisting of a special dance, called Wuimchi, at which different birds and animals, which the Jibaros most generally hunt, are enumerated. The dance begins when darkness sets in and is continued the whole night, until dawn. It is performed by young men, invited to the feast, who move round one of the pillars in the middle of the house holding each other by the hand. The conjurers, whilst thus moving round, again and again mention certain birds, valued by the Jibaros, like the tucan (tsukánga), the paugi (máshu), the wild turkey (kúyu), and the parrot (kávashu), and of animals especially the wild hog (pákki) and different kinds of monkeys, which are much hunted by the Indians on account of their flesh, their teeth, which are strung into necklaces, and their skin, which is used for drums and for making small bags which the Jibaros carry when travelling.

The object of this conjuration, which also takes place at the victory feast and the feast of the women, is of course to give the 'feaster' good luck in hunting with the new dog.

During the feast proper the principal ceremony consists in a magical drink being repeatedly given the dog. This drink is prepared from a small plant, specially cultivated for this purpose by the Jibaros, which is called kungúna. The leaves of the plant are boiled together with the leaves of the guayusa (Ilex), a tree which plays an important part

in certain magical rites of the Indians. It is the priest, whuéa, who has to give this medicine to the dog. For this purpose he first fills his mouth with tobacco smoke and blows it upon the dog, then he opens its mouth and puts a little of the liquid into it, at the same time chanting an incantation or conjuration adapted for the occasion. This ceremony is repeated several times in the course of one or two days of the feast. Again, each night from about 6 o'clock till dawn, a general dance, called Ihiámbrama, is performed, which takes place at all feasts of the Jibaros. Both the men and the women take part in this dance wearing the usual festal ornaments, moving in a ring in the middle of the house and chanting incantations. On the third and last day of the feast the priest washes the eyes of the dog with a special solution, prepared by soaking a leaf, called shishíngya, in water. Other Jibaros, again, make a certain poisonous ant bite the dog in the eyes. By this procedure the dog is supposed to get strong eyes and a good nose for tracking the game. This done, the priest initiates the mistress of the house into her coming duties with regard to the dog, since she has to take care of the hunting dogs and to feed them. The priest [172] first gives the woman tobacco juice to drink, then grasps her by the right hand, makes her take a piece of boiled manioc from a gourd held ready and give it to the dog, whereupon he makes her caress its back with her hand. Finally the priest paints the dog with genipa, as is done with men and women at all great feasts,

applying the black dye to the fell of the animal from the nose downwards along the stomach. This ceremony brings the feast of the dogs to an end.

This feast, however, is not always celebrated on such a large scale, nor is it exclusively made for young dogs which are to be initiated for hunting. When an old dog is growing too lazy to pursue game and losing the power to track it, is [sic] owner may improvise a small feast for it, at which he himself gives the dog the medicine prepared from the kungúna and the guayusa leaves, accompanying the ceremony with the usual incantations and conjurations. He may give the dog kungúna repeatedly during the day, whereupon he takes it out in the forest to see whether it has regained its power. If the result is not satisfactory, he may give it the same medicine the next day, and so on, until it takes effect and the dog recovers its power.

The drink prepared from the kungúna, owing to some extraordinary properties ascribed to this plant, is supposed to exert a mysterious, favourable influence upon the dog, making it strong and vigorous to pursue game. The kungúna thus plays much the same part at the 'feast of the dogs' as tobacco plays at other great feasts of the Jibaros. The idea that underlies all feasts of these Indians is that the magic medicine then taken will fill the person in question with supernatural power, which is automatically transferred to every sphere of his life. It is the same with the feast Yawápani. The mysterious power which is imparted to the dog will, as it were mechanically, display itself

in the good luck which ever afterwards follows its master in hunting: in his house there will thenceforward be no lack of game. At least this will infallibly be the case if the ceremonies have been duly performed and the owner of the dog as well as his wife have, during the time of preparation, fasted in the way prescribed by custom. Should the result of the feast be unsatisfactory and the dog prove of little use for hunting, their explanation is that its masters have infringed the rules of diet, or else committed some fault in celebrating the feast.

As already mentioned, it is the duty of the housewife to feed and take care of the dogs. Just as the married Jibaro woman is believed to have a mysterious influence upon the fields which she cultivates, so she is [173] supposed to exert a similar influence upon the hunting dogs confided to her care. The competence of the dogs and the plentifulness of game in the house thus correspond to the ability of its mistress. Hence, when at the 'tobacco feast of the women' (noa tsángu) the newly married Jibaro woman is initiated for her coming obligations as a housewife, mention is made not only of the fields and of different domestic plants, the swine, and chicken, but also of the dogs, and special incantations are addressed to the Earth-mother Nungüi on behalf of these domestic animals.

After the feast Yawápani the dog is taken out in the forest together with other older dogs to hunt, the wild hog being the game then especially sought. As soon as a hog or

some other animal has been killed with the aid of the dogs, the back of the newly-initiated dog is thickly coated with its blood. By this procedure it is supposed to become keen in hunting that animal.

The new dog is never allowed to eat the bones of the first animal killed with its aid, for if it did it would be entirely spoiled. Nor must these bones be eaten by any other animal. When the game has been eaten, the Jibaros carefully collect all the bones to guard them. This is considered so important, that if some pieces of the animal killed have been distributed to other houses, the owner of the dog afterwards reclaims all the bones left after eating the flesh. The bones are washed, carefully arranged in a basket and hung up in the roof of the house, where they are kept for a long time until they are half-consumed by the dry air and the smoke. Then they are thrown away into the river to be carried away by the stream. This is done in order that the dogs or the domestic swine shall not be able to eat them. If they eat them, the new dog will deteriorate entirely and become useless for hunting.

The Jibaros do not generally allow their hunting dogs to roam about alone in the forest, because they may take harm by eating exrcements [sic] or by encountering a tiger, a snake, or some other demoniac animal. The dogs, as we have seen before, are as a rule tied up in the women's department of the house, a precaution also necessary because of their fierceness, which makes them attack any stranger visiting the house.

1: Karsten--169-173
116, 224, 231

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-8

Some Jibaros do not keep their best hunting dogs in the principal house at all, but in distant tambos (small hunting houses) in the forest. This measure is due to fear that some wicked sorcerer who visits the house should bewitch the animals, secretly looking at them with the evil eye, or shooting his magic arrow (túnchi) at them, so as to cause their death or otherwise harm them. --"

2: Stirling--91 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 343, 231

"To a limited extent, particularly on the Upano, the Jivaros keep domesticated fowl and pigs, these having been early introduced by the Spaniards. They are cared for by the women and regarded as the women's property. The native 'pavo' (Penelope cristata) is also sometimes domesticated. Small conical structures, strongly built of poles, are erected in the clearing of the jivaría where the domestic animals repair at night as protection against prowling members of the cat tribe (pl. 26, b). Various pets are frequently encountered in the jivaría, monkeys, parrots, and toucans being the most common. These, as well as the dogs, are kept inside the house."

5; Reyes and Teran--104-105 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 231

"The only animals raised by the natives are the chancho [GCB: agouti] and the dog, both of which are given little care. The chanchos are of an almost wild species. As a general rule, the women have charge of their care, abandoning them completely to the woods [105] during the day, and calling them with shouts at about sunset. On hearing the voices of the women, they return to get something good to eat, but many times when they find good feed in the woods, they do not return for several days, and thus become easy prey for jaguars and pumas."

12: Rivet--590 [2] (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 231

Near the house some small enclosures are reserved for the hens and hogs, the only domestic animals that the Jíbaro raises, outside of the dog, a few parrots and a few monkeys. There is not a house where there are not veritable packs of hounds. The animals are tied day and night to the foot of the women's beds, there being two, three and even more per bed. As they reproduce with difficulty in these regions, for what reason I do not know, the Jíbaros acquire them either from whites living in the vicinity or during the course of visits to the Ecuadorian sierra. The first concern of the savage, every time that he acquires a new boarder, is to force him to swallow a tobacco infusion, for the purpose of provoking abundant vomiting and to wash out the stomach completely. He has in fact noticed that in the mountains the dog subsists solely on filth, of which the vomiting purifies him to some extent. Then the training for hunting begins. I will point out to French hunters the method employed by the Jíbaro to punish lazy animals. He ties up his legs and leaves him several minutes, thus disarmed and incapable of moving, on an anthill. It seems that this cruel punishment gets remarkable results. The number of dogs that an Indian possesses enters into the estimation of his fortune in the same way as the number of his clothes, his pigs---and his wives.

18: Hermessen--445 (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 231, 262

"In this part of Oriente there were no cattle, horses, mules, or burros. The Jibaros kept pigs and fowls, but sustained themselves chiefly by the products of the chase."

25: Vigna --44 [5]
116, 231, 222, 462

(no date) 1945

Jivaro

The Jîbaro women breed domestic birds, hogs, little monkeys, parrots, and even wild birds, with astonishing skill. They do not keep fruit or products of the earth in their house which is always painstakingly clean, but every day they go to the garden to obtain the necessities for the day.

26: Brüning--55-56 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 231

Many dogs are in evidence everywhere in the Indian houses. They are tied to the tops of the bedposts so that they can rest on the beds. They barked violently when we approached, and they pulled furiously on their liana lines. They are small snappish mongrels. The women give them special attention, and once in a while the dogs would be escorted out of the house so that they could relieve nature. [56] It seemed to me as if the food for the dogs was prepared with special care. In the case of puppies I have witnessed how the Indian woman first chewed the food and then offered it to the dog out or her own mouth. Very young puppies are carried by the women in the fold of her upper dress and they are allowed to suck on the women's breasts. On their travels the natives tie the dogs to some object on the resting place in the open field, and the dogs may lie down on a large leaf of some plant which is placed there for the purpose. I have never seen dogs running wild. The whites told me that the Indians use their dogs for hunting purposes. On this subject, however, I have not been able to assemble definite data.

26: Brüning--56 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 231

Aside from dogs the Indians, or rather the women, keep a great number and variety of other animals, and I was impressed by the fact that all animals become tame very readily, and they have the run of the house and its environs. The Indians have a predilection for the various kinds of parrots and araras, fowl like birds, various types of turkeys, Paujiles and trumpeters, in addition to diostedé and various kinds of monkeys. The Indians bring these animals into the house when they are still young, and it is the women's business to domesticate them.

Of domestic animals, aside from dogs, I have seen, and this in isolated instances, chickens only and, in one case, a pig. According to my white informants, the Indians keep poultry not on account of the eggs (which they do not eat), but for the sake of insect control. During our journey we had a hard time to obtain either poultry or eggs.

28: Tessman--350 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 231, 262

Dogs are used for hunting. They keep chickens to eat their meat and eggs. Pork (pigs: kutsi) is eaten by both sexes. In the atšuim region, along the upper Cenipa, a very secluded part of the Aguarunas is said to have very large pigs.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9



soul, the muisak emits power, but it is believed that the muisak's power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the tsantsa aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the muisak is believed to be transmitted to the women who, ordinarily, lack power-giving arutam souls. This power, transmitted from the muisak to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which being primarily the responsibilities of women in Jívaro society.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only nonhuman creature thought to be capable of forming a muisak. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an arutam soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves so slowly, it is further believed to have lost its former arutam soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human tsantsa but generally somewhat less extensive.

## THE TRUE SOUL

The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the nëkás wakanI, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every living Jívaro, male or female. The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jívaro in terms of their total native belief systems.

When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.[16]

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be food to them, it never satisfies them because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living persons. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of persistent starvation is dreaded by the Jívaro.

/334 cont./

628 now retreating attackers, and thus new members all too easily become involved in the endless chain of blood revenge.

The terrible custom demands ever new, ever more victims, all security must disappear, every individual constantly [342] lives in danger of being ambushed; there is a general and perma- [574] nent state of war. Hence the arrangement of the houses, one [576] door of which can be used for flight, while the battle rages at the other; hence the customs mentioned at the beginning in con- [231] nection with approaching a dwelling, for the protection of which, 628 in addition, a pack of half-wild dogs are kept. A quarrel be- 648 tween two families must lead to battles between whole tribes; larger groups of tribes become hostile to one another; war and battle become customary, a man's lifework. A longer period of quiet, of peace, must be unbearable for such a nation of warriors. Ambitious, bold leaders will easily find companions for joint war expeditions; the neighboring nations are attacked and plundered. Thus, these Indians are carrying on among themselves a war of annihilation which must gradually bring about [161] their own downfall. Severe depopulation is already noticeable [164] in the region of the Jívaros, and it is being accelerated by [177] epidemics, of the diseases introduced by the Europeans, which appear with great violence at times.

727 It may be that the Jívaros themselves do not place very much confidence in the truth of their own war reports, or perhaps there are other reasons for demanding positive proof of the executed blood revenge and courage, but this much is certain, only the one who can display the head of the enemy as a trophy is regarded as victor. Thus all the effort goes into beheading the enemy. This is easy in an ambush, but more difficult in a regular 726 battle. The warriors are armed with shield and lances and lately 411 with large forest knives. The circular shield, carved out of a 714 single piece of soft and light wood, is about half as high as a man; the lance, made out of a thin, hard palm shaft (chonta) provided with a tip made out of bone or iron, is six to seven feet long or more. The troops advance close together, each man in a bent position protected behind his shield; the lance rests in the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9



173 The Jívaro have an oral tradition regarding the circum-
648 stances of the initiation of this peaceful contact:
177
439 In the old days, all the Jívaro [*untsuri šuarā*] lived near the
[131] Río Paute. Then two Jívaro went up the Río Upano Valley and found many monkeys. Near the Río Tutanangoza, they encountered two Macabeos, who wore kilts like the *šuarā*, but carried machetes. The Macabeos spoke a Jivaroan dialect different from theirs [Achuara?]. The Mačabeos asked, "Do you have
[412] pigs?" The Jívaro men said, "Yes." So the Macabeos gave one of
[411] the Jívaro a piece of a machete blade and told him to bring pigs
• [231] to Macas. The two *šuarā* returned downstream and told their people:

"We have encountered an animal, or perhaps it is a person, who wears a kilt. It gave us this machete."

[411] All the people tried out the machete blade fragment, happy
[412] with how well it worked compared to their stone axes. So they killed a few big pigs and gave the meat to some old women to carry to Macas. Two men went with the old women on the trail, but did not enter Macas with them. They were afraid of the whites, and thought that perhaps they would kill them. The men waited on the trail for the old women to return.

[291] When the women arrived in Macas with the meat, the whites gave them a shirt, four arm lengths of cloth to make a dress, and one piece of machete. One of the old women later said when she returned home, "They frightened me because they have such large houses and so many people."

After two days, the old women came back down the trail, surprising their people, who had decided that they had been killed. The old women told them that the Macabeos had many machetes and much cloth which they wanted to exchange for pigs.

[231] So, after a few days, four men left for Macas, carrying pigs. When they arrived, the whites sat them on stools and served them beer of sugar cane. The Macabeos gave the men two

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9



machetes, two hatchets, and cloth. Following this, the Macabeos returned the visit of the *kasrá*.

With this initiation of trade relations between the two groups, Jívaro families soon migrated north from the Río Paute Valley to settle in the previously uninhabited land between the Río Paute and Macas. These migrants began to act as middlemen in the barter of Jívaro products for steel machetes and other goods. The Macabeos at first traded mainly to secure pigs and salt obtained by the Jívaro from saline springs, but soon also began to attend *tsantsa* celebrations to purchase lard obtained from pigs slaughtered by the Jívaro on such occasions. As a consequence of their attendance at the feasts, the Macabeos started also to purchase *tsantsa*.[25] This was the beginning of the "shrunken head" trade, and the first reported examples of *tsantsa* reached the outside world at about this time.[26]

Macas remained the only significant source of Western-manufactured goods for the Jívaro until 1870. In that year, the Jesuits founded new missions at Macas and Gualaquiza, to the south on the Río Zamora.[27] The Jesuit missionaries introduced the first cattle to Macas at this time, Macabeo men carrying calves and guinea grass (*gramalote* in Spanish) sets on their backs down the long trail from Riobamba. Both cattle and the grass flourished, and soon the Macabeos had a plentiful supply of beef, with the result that a gradual decline occurred in the trade with the Jívaro for pigs. Being unable to barter pigs any longer to obtain steel tools and other trade goods, the Jívaro began to engage in labor, such as clearing forest for pastures, for the people of Macas.

The Jesuits were shortly forced to withdraw from Gualaquiza and Macas due to political reasons, but they left behind them at Gualaquiza a few mestizos who constituted the first

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9



stuck through the hair over the ear, wrapped at one end with kapok to provide resistance when blown. The speed with which the darts are produced makes the blowgun an extremely economical weapon to operate compared, for example, to the bow and arrow, with which the Jívaro are not acquainted. Arrow making, as I have observed among the Conibo Indians of the Río Ucayali region of eastern Peru, is a comparatively time-consuming process, and there is always the danger of losing arrows in the treetops when hunting monkeys or birds. Blowgun darts, on the other hand, are so easy to make that their loss means little to the hunter. Also, from what I have observed, blowguns tend to be more accurate in hunting small birds at close range. A final hunting advantage, compared to the bow and arrow, is that the motion involved in using the weapon is so slight, and the flight of the darts so unnoticeable, that game is rarely disturbed if the hunter misses his target. Of course, compared to a firearm, the blowgun is even more economical, but limited in range and not sufficiently fast-acting on large or dangerous game.

Dogs are commonly used in hunting peccary, jaguars, and ocelots, although a hunter, armed with a shotgun or carbine, may stalk them alone. When taking a dog on a peccary hunt, the man is accompanied by a wife, who handles the leashed dog, and also is frequently assisted by another male hunter. Even in hunting dangerous felines, only one dog is used to tree the cat, but up to a dozen people may participate.

Blinds, game calls, and traps are the main supplementary hunting devices. Conical blinds, made by sticking palm fronds into the ground, may be constructed at feeding places of toucans, agouti, or other creatures. Game calls are employed both in blinds and when stalking. Hunters call parrots without the aid of any devices, but blow against the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9



of insects and fruits, shoots and leaves constitute the main kinds of gathered foods. 222

Insects particularly are relished as food items, both in larval and mature forms. The rotten cores of fallen chonta palms are cut open to collect cocoons of two kinds of edible grubs (*nuŋkintü*, *čaraŋčam*), and the ivory nut palm often yields larvae of a large moth (*tsampaŋ*). Cocoons containing grubs of the butterfly *tasapirulü* are removed from hanging vines. Leaf-eating ants (*aiyaŋü*) and a kind of grasshopper (*tsampuntü*) also are collected. [261]

The various species of palms are the most important source of wild plant food. The chonta (*Guilielma utilis*), royal, and other palms (*kiŋak*, *kuakai*, *ampakai*, *tirintü*) are chopped down with machetes to obtain their edible tips. Except for the *ampakai*, these palms (together with the ivory nut palm and *kumai*) also supply an annual harvest of large clusters of edible fruits, which are both eaten boiled and made into beer. Frequently young tender leaves are collected from other plants (*tuŋusi*, *tučinč*, *ipü*, *tampat*), but no wild roots are dug up for food. Generally, the only tool used in all these gathering activities is the machete. [262] [252] [273] [262]

Virtually all families raise chickens, some also raise ducks, and a very few keep pigs. A household's pigs are allowed to wander relatively freely in the adjacent forest to feed. If they start rooting in the garden, a low rail fence may be built around it to keep them out. Neighbors' pigs never seem to threaten the garden, because of the long distances between houses and the small numbers of pigs kept. 231 [295] [417]

Chickens, ducks, and their eggs are utilized for food, especially to feed visitors when no game is on hand. In the uncommon cases where pigs are kept, the family usually is planning a *tsantsa* feast and intends to slaughter the pigs to 262 574 765 [235] [231]

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9



feed the large number of anticipated guests, who could not be supplied with enough meat from hunting alone. Normally, however, the contribution of the animal domesticates, essentially fowl, is less than 5 per cent of the diet.

At least one or two dogs are kept in most households. These not only aid in hunting in the forest, as mentioned earlier, but also protect the garden crops, including the manioc tubers, from devastation by agouti and other rodents. A family without a good hunting dog lives in fear of losing much of its garden produce within a few months. An equally important service that they provide is to act as watchdogs against surprise attacks. Leashed to beds in the women's end of the house (see Plate 11), their slightest barking usually results in the household head seizing his gun and preparing to defend himself and his family. Since the dogs' barking indicates that the intended victim has been alerted, the attacking party generally withdraws. Interestingly, the name for dog, *misui*, is the same term used to designate the feared and respected jaguar.

The importance of dogs in hunting, protecting the garden, and defense helps to explain the high degree of care they receive. When puppies are born, one of the owner's wives observes a kind of couvade, in which she lies abed with the bitch to protect the litter from supernatural harm. A puppy is nursed by the wife as well as by its canine mother. Even in adult life, the dog normally sleeps on the bed beside its owners, and is fed premasticated manioc in a special wooden dish. Dogs, like people, are even given the hallucinogenic *Datura* to help them obtain supernatural power.

The majority of households contain at least one pet besides the dog. Such pets, which include monkeys, marmosets, parakeets, parrots, macaws, and doves, are captured and

34 Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9



raised, both for personal amusement and for trade to the western or frontier Jivaro to obtain steel machetes, axe-heads, firearms, and ammunition.

### *Technology and Crafts*

No single tool can be considered more ubiquitous in Jivaro life than the machete. The machete is the sole garden weeding implement as well as the only tool used for digging up root crops including the staple food, sweet manioc. It is used for woodworking, to dig clay for pottery, to prepare fronds and to cut hair, and it is used to fell even the largest tree, although the less common steel axe is preferred for this task when it is available.

Machetes are of two types: the more plentiful *hapa maita* ("deer machete"), of Ecuadorian manufacture, which was formerly obtained at Macas in exchange for one deer carcass, and the *keyem maita* (Collins machete), of North American manufacture and preferred by the Jivaro because of its superior efficiency. The *hapa maita* was introduced first, the Collins implement not reaching the Jivaro until about 1941. During the past few decades, large single-bitted steel axe heads have also been introduced in significant numbers by means of a system of Jivaro trading partners. Such axes are still far less plentiful than machetes, but in great demand because of their superiority over machetes in felling trees. Iron adze blades, which were apparently introduced about the same time as machetes, are possessed by only a very few individuals, but are in demand for finishing canoes and stools. All the types of steel tools are mainly obtained by trade from the western or frontier Jivaro of the Rio Upano Valley.

As machetes become worn through years of continual use

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773 they encountered Nunui digging clay out of the ground. She told them, "I am Nunui, and I give all the people their food. I shall teach you a song. Sing it, because you are orphans, and make pots. Take some of this clay, and as soon as you get home, make pots with it."

The children obeyed her and found themselves able to make all kinds of pots which did not break when they fired them. There had been pots before, but usually they broke in firing. The children told everyone about their success. When they grew up, their houses contained many pots, they had excellent gardens, and many people came to ask them for pots. The orphans' crops flourished, their chickens and pigs multiplied remarkably, more than those of anyone else, and they taught the other people the song which they use to this day to prevent the pots from cracking during firing.

776 Nunui is also believed to have given the dog to the Jivaro
• 231 for hunting. This association of dogs with Nunui is consistent
562 with the importance of the dogs in protecting the gardens from rodents and other destructive animals, and with the fact
[229] that they are cared for by the women. In fact, when a man wishes to hunt game that requires the assistance of a dog, he asks a wife to accompany him, and to handle the dog on a
[782] leash. It is believed that the presence of the woman, through her connection to Nunui, will help the man have better luck, and she constantly (and usually silently) sings to Nunui for success in getting game and also so that the dog will be protected from snakebite or other misfortune.

782 Women also sing to Nunui to help protect the household
824 from attack by enemies who might be approaching through the surrounding garden. That is, they believe that the manioc plants especially have an innate desire and capability to suck the blood from any person touching them. A woman, therefore, sings to them to suck the blood of enemies, but not of

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child, and the words of it are addressed to the mother to come back from the garden to nurse the infant:

Dear mother, dear mother
Come soon, come soon.
The baby is crying,
The baby is crying.
For lack of your milk,
It will die.
For lack of your milk,
It will die.
Dear mother, come quickly,
Dear mother, come quickly,
The little monkey is singing,
The little monkey is singing.

Often the mother does not return for several hours, and the baby-tender often attempts to satisfy the infant's hunger by chewing up boiled manioc and spitting it into the baby's mouth. Any other mothers in the household who may be lactating do not offer to feed the baby, and wet-nursing is unknown. If a mother finds herself unable to provide the baby with enough milk, she feeds it masticated manioc or a bit of beer.

When the baby begins teething it will also be fed steamed hearts of palm with a consistency softer than that of boiled noodles. Small bits of chewed meat are provided soon thereafter.

The birth of a new baby normally does not entail the weaning of the earlier one, and it is a common sight to see an infant and a four- or five-year-old being fed by the mother, with one at each breast. Puppies are highly valued and cared for by the women, and one may likewise be seen being breast-fed simultaneously by a woman along with

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10. Man (left) and wife sleeping in a new house, in which the walls are still under construction (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

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11. Hunting dogs tied to beds to sound the alarm in case would-be assassins attempt to approach sleeping members of the household in the night (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

/p. 90-H/

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*Chapter IV*

# THE HIDDEN WORLD

I go where there is a great waterfall. 539
It emerges where the mountains become stone. 778
This waterfall will give me strength.

I hope that with this long journey
I shall have an encounter
In order to have a very long life.

From the song of a man making the
trip to encounter an *arutam*

The Jívaro believe that the true determinants of life and 787
death are normally invisible forces which can be seen and 181
utilized only with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. The nor- 276
mal waking life is explicitly viewed as "false" or "a lie," and
it is firmly believed that truth about causality is to be found [761]
by entering the supernatural world or what the Jívaro view
as the "real" world, for they feel that the events which take
place within it underlie and are the basis for many of the sur-
face manifestations and mysteries of daily life.

Thus, within a few days of birth, a baby is given a hal- 787
lucinogenic drug to help it enter the "real" world and hope- 276
fully to obtain help in surviving the hazards of infancy [854]
through seeing an "ancient specter." If an older child mis- [861]
behaves, his parents may administer another, stronger, hal-
lucinogen to enable him to see that the "reality" on which
they base their knowledge and authority does indeed exist.
Even hunting dogs are given their own special hallucinogen [231] •
to provide them with the essential contact with the supernat-
ural plane.

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When this first *tsantsa* feast is concluded, the head-takers return to their separate homes and begin to make preparations for the two subsequent feasts which each of them will host individually. Since enormous quantities of beer and food are consumed at these celebrations, the head-taker normally has to clear additional garden space for his wife or wives to plant to assure an ample supply of manioc. The first of these two celebrations, named *suamak*, normally takes place no sooner than after a year, to allow time for garden clearing and the growth of a large mature crop of manioc as well as for the raising of pigs to help provide meat for the feasting. Also the host may delay the celebration in order to build a new, larger house more worthy of the occasion. Thus, often two or three years pass before a man gives the feast.

To assure a large quantity of wild game for the feast, men who are close relatives of the host separately go hunting long distances from the house for a period of approximately nine or ten days before the opening day. Lacking any mnemonic system for keeping count of the days accurately, they are able to time their return to coincide with the arrival of the guests at the feast with the aid of an ingenious device which might be called a "banana clock." That is, the host gives each hunter a green cooking banana or plantain from the same stalk, which is one of those hanging in the house to ripen for the feast. When each of the hunters' plantains is almost fully ripe, they know that it is time to return for the celebration. The host also sends or delivers plantains from the same stalk to those invited guests living at some distance so that they, too, will arrive at the same time.

The celebration lasts five days and is followed, about a month later, by the third feast (*napiy*). This is the largest of all, with the head-taker supplying food and drink for six days. He must be able to provide plentifully for all his guests or the

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digging of foxholes in house floors is a related new development. The construction of double walls behind beds has become common to protect sleepers from assassins attempting to shoot between the palm staves of the house wall at night. The construction of escape tunnels has declined considerably since the lessening of inter-tribal warfare, for their prime function was to provide a means of escaping the wholesale attacks and sieges which only occur in the inter-tribal head-taking raids. Log signal drums are now also relatively rare, due to the adoption of firearms, whose discharge is sufficient in itself to alert neighbors when an attack occurs.

A decline has occurred in the last three or four decades in the numbers of pigs kept, which is ascribed primarily to the fact that *tsantsa* feasts now have become much less frequent due to the lessening of inter-tribal warfare. The raising of pigs was primarily directed towards having a large supply of meat for such feasts. The capturing and taming of wild animals and birds has increased, however, because of the demand for these by Jívaro trading partners to the west, who trade them to the whites of the frontier.

Hunting has become more important as an activity to procure skins and feathers for trade, although there is no indication that such specialized hunting has resulted in an increase of meat consumption in the household. The adoption of firearms has tended to increase the hunters' efficiency in killing rare birds, such as the toucan, which are prized for their plumage and are difficult to stalk at close range. Firearms also have facilitated the hunting of dangerous wild animals for their skins, especially the jaguar and peccary, which were formerly hunted with the lance.

Besides firearms, blowguns and curare dart poison are also utilized for hunting to a greater degree than was the case several decades ago. The intensified use of blowguns has

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000 dwell south of the present Ecuadorian border, which prevented the author from visiting them and making a field comparison.

[114] The Achuara, whom the author did visit, are frequently confused with the Jívaro in the literature and also are commonly included in the latter term by Ecuadorians who are not familiar with the distinctions between the two tribes or dialect groups. Salient cultural features that distinguish the Achuara from the Jívaro include the following: permanent matrilocality; weaving is done by the women; the women wear a topless skirt rather than a dress over one shoulder; the men's kilt is predominantly white rather than reddish-brown; two doors are commonly located in the women's end of the house; a stockade may be built outside the house in times of heightened hostilities; at other times houses often have no walls at all. The

[171] permanent matrilocality results in household populations considerably in excess of those normally found among the Jívaro, which has contributed to contradictions in the literature by explorers and others who were unaware, in fact, that they were among the Achuara.

[127] 13. Cieza de León, 1943, pp. 295–96; González Suárez, 1890, p. 54. Many of the sources cited by Stirling, 1938, in his compilation of historical materials, are not utilized here because they actually refer to Jivaroan groups other than the Jívaro proper (*umtsuri šuarä*).

14. Jiménez de la Espada, 1965, Tomo 4, pp. 174–77.

• [231] [235] 15. It was probably at about this time that the Jívaro initially obtained chickens and pigs. The presence of pigs among the Jívaro is first definitely reported in 1683 by Lucero, 1892, p. 37. However, records are so fragmentary that it seems safe to assume that this report could have followed the actual inroduction by a century or longer.

[135] 16. Velasco, 1842, p. 151; Lucero, 1892, p. 33. The present writer is inclined to place Sevilla del Oro on the middle Río Upano (the Sucúa-Huambi area), because significant placer gold deposits do not occur on the upper portion of the river and because early reports of its latitude seem more consistent with such a location.

17. Jiménez de la Espada, 1897, p. 45. Translated by the author.

18. Velasco, 1842, p. 153; and n.d., p. 97.

19. Translated by the author from Velasco, 1842, pp. 153–57.

20. Lucero, 1892, p. 34.

21. Accounts of some of these ill-fated attempts may be found in Velasco, n.d., pp. 105–7; 203; 209–10; 286–288; and in Velasco, 1842, pp. 158–60.

22. Jiménez de la Espada, 1897, pp. 43–44.

23. Macabeo oral histories. Cf. also Barrueco, n.d.

24. Oral history provided by elderly Macabeos and Jívaro; Compte, 1885, p. 56; Vacas Galindo, 1895, p. 49; Villavicencio, 1858, pp. 366, 420–21.

25. From oral histories given by elderly Jívaro.

26. E.g., Bollaert, 1863.

27. Anonymous, 1952, p. 30. During the 1870's, the population of Macas was estimated to be 300 (Reiss, 1880, p. 329).